

ANTI- IMPERIALISM

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PRICE, 10 CENTS.

LOS ANGELES
PUBLIC OWNERSHIP REVIEW
1899.

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CHAPTER I.

Imperialism To Bless the Conquered.

The demand for absorbing the Philippines is so gross a departure from American principles, a revolution of our national purposes so singular and complete, that it is well to probe down to its real cause. Three motives are offered to sanction the change: Blessing for the peoples absorbed, Duty to the World, and Markets. It can be shown that the first two are but forms of the third—avarice for markets. The commercial market-seekers are adroitly using philanthropic sentiments to win the philanthropic over to their side in order to secure new fields to exploit.

Let us realize the reach of this. It is the culminating stroke of Plutocracy. Even so late as a few years ago it could not have been safely proposed. But Plutocracy is master now, and makes no pause. Imperialism cancels the Constitution and takes the life of popular government: the very ends that plutocracy aims at. The fact of plutocracy has worked enfeeblement in the general mind. Expansion will create the formerly dreaded standing army: Plutocracy foresees and desires it, universal monopoly will need an army against the people. Would this army have been voted five years ago?

Let us consider the three grounds for expansion. Blessing to the peoples annexed. The leading feature of the blessing will be our capitalists. Do capitalists go out to bless? We have had some opportunities

to lift the lowly. Here are our southern blacks. Our blessing there takes the form of denials of the ballot and of ballot-box massacres. What degree of friendly assimilation have we achieved? Is there not ground to fear a general race war one of these days? Whites of opposite political creeds are obliged to bury their divergences and vote together to prevent negro domination. Current events in the South indicate that there is to be no compromise:

"The North Carolina Democrats are trying to find a way to constitutionally disfranchise the negro. A new election law will be passed next year, and the Democrats of the State are endeavoring to frame a constitutional amendment restricting the suffrage as the result of the race strife at the last election. These Democrats are studying the bill for the annexation of the Hawaiian islands. That bill does not grant universal suffrage. By imposing property qualifications, it practically disfranchises the natives, and places the government in the hands of the whites and a few others. The North Carolina Democrats say if Congress can constitutionally adopt this legislation in independent States, they can do the same."

This state of things does not suggest that we are gifted to raise inferior peoples. It would be a delicate question to ask if we shall prepare the Cubans and Filipinos for self-government—the high purpose of which our statesmen are ever speaking—by ballot restrictions denying them a vote. But why not? We do it with "childish" races nearer home. And if we refuse them the practice of self-government how many centuries will it take them to learn it?

Our Indians, too, are a second lesson. Our rule of them has bloomed in robbery and progressive extermination, and behind the swindling officials have stood the moral and military forces of the nation. We may say that it is good for the world that the breath of civilization exterminates such races—some assert this—but it shakes the argument of philanthropy. Is it good *for them* to be exterminated? Does blessing them mean exterminating them? Is this what we mean by saying

that we shall lift them up and confer free institutions upon them? Why not be clear on this point before we go out to reclaim the Filipinos? We should then prove to them, in the altered words of William McKinley, 'that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent extermination, substituting the mild sway of civilizing extinction for arbitrary rule.' They have a very searching right to know what form our blessing is to take, one would think, and to decide whether they care to be blessed in our way.

There is another side—the effect of extermination upon the exterminator. It may be well meant, but is the consciousness of dealing civilizingly with lower human beings in order to obliterate them without crime morally healthy? Surely not. Slave owners were degraded by their relation to the slave; it made them brutal in character and domineering in other relations of life. Any form or degree of domination has a like tendency. It fosters the degrading sense of superiority, contempt, arrogance, aloofness, the domineering spirit, all of which canker the superior man's nature. It prevents the growth of brotherliness—the highest idea of civilization; of equality—the basis of democratic evolution; of the American spirit—the essence of the American spirit being equal opportunity of development for all.

The influence of an alien race upon the growth of American liberty and the success of our weighty trial in popular government is therefore grave. We ought to see from experience that we have no fitness for governing, assimilating, or uplifting 'derelict' races, and that contact with them in the alleged attempt to do so depraves us.

Hawaii carries the demonstration another step. Have we consulted the will of the native, the real Hawaiian? No. We have listened to the voice of American capitalists who grasped the Hawaiian government and insolently claimed to represent the population of the islands. The will and well-being of the native have influenced our decisions no more than the will of the beasts roaming the Hawaiian jungles.

With this record our solemn concern for the good of the native Filipinos is hollow and fraudulent. There will be grandiloquent vaporings from the pulpit, press and platform, from Congress and President,—already their pious sound has encircled the globe—but the shaping force below rhetoric and piety will be financial desire. Nothing will have any real weight but that.

This argument of our duty to lower races has been cunningly handled by those whose motive is commercial gain. They first appeal to the conscience of the nation, but when conscience and humane instincts have been roused and the people have adopted their counsels for the good of humanity, another side of the case is brought out to congeal the public conscience again and restore apathy, whereupon the commercial class can go ahead and do what they please. They have gained their point, the laws they wanted have been passed, and the people forget to repeal them when the commercialists correct themselves and announce that humanity in that instance would be wasted. To make the case concrete apply it to Cuba or the Philippines. The first act dwells with ostentation upon the inhumanity of leaving a meritorious race in galling servitude: a passion of sympathy is stirred and the oppressed are freed; the second act discovers and bruits abroad the degradation of the liberated people, the public retires into the shell of its disappointed virtue, turning over the worthless savages to the wise men of commerce to discipline and use according to their deserts. The farce is now finished. A protectorate is established, or annexation, and the unworthy race is taken in tutelage for a nameless period. To nervous objections the reply is that it is improper to consider the preferences of semi-savages.

This pious buncoing is proceeding for the confiscation of Porto Rico, the Philippines, and possibly Cuba—for Hawaii the work is already done. The moral and religious 'gag' of elevating the natives is being worked in the usual way to obtain the vote of the churches. When we have absorbed or established our guardianship of the islands, the inciting commercial

class will lay religion and humanity aside and resume its native shape of proprietor, speculator and capitalist. The critical question is whether this will be opposed by the moral and religious uplifters. If the aims of the moral and religious were intelligent and serious, were they people of character and force, the commercial exploiters would be sternly faced and held to their promises: but this will not happen. Adjustment will happen. The rapacious commercialists will pronounce the doctrine of total savage depravity, the lifters-up will appreciate that this is reasonable and will gracefully go about saving the souls of the natives whose bodies the capitalists will break.

The principles proceeded upon by the capitalists will be those always applied to inferior labor by employers—long hours, petty remuneration, and no consideration of their well-being. What is left of the natives after this will be turned over to the missionaries to be prepared for death. And the religious party will accept these fag ends of humanity and recite their formulas of doing good, soul-saving and lifting up, showing that the destroyers and the saviors understood each other from the beginning of the annexation drama. The Hawaiian planters have protested that our government must not prevent the importation of alien labor there because their prosperity depends upon an inflow of cheap coolies. What about the well-being of our American citizens, the Hawaiian natives, who must compete with these coolie importations? Will they develop into the kind of men that we like to imagine our citizens are? And was not one of the strong public motives for Hawaiian annexation—before the war motive dispensed with subterfuge—our concern for the good of the natives? Consider then the prospects of the Philippine natives if our commercial exploiters exhaust them so rapidly as to require a new stream of coolie Chinese!

Laying aside cant, let us admit that our commercial classes are magnificently indifferent to the well-being of any natives, and will resent and thwart the first move to hinder them from consuming the natives as 'labor'

and reducing their strength and life to 'profits.' The position of the moral and religious would be mordantly humiliating if they were serious and honest about saving the natives.

Events relating to the Philippines have already transpired to establish these facts. The National Christian Citizenship Convention that was called to meet in Washington, D. C., last December, issued the following remarkable subjects for the convention's work :

"Should suffrage be limited by educational tests or otherwise in the new island territories?

Should civil-service reform be extended to the new island offices?

Should the national laws forbidding prize-fights and bull-fights, restricting divorce, and forbidding bigamy and related evils, be extended to our new island territories?

Should the American civil Sabbath be also extended to these islands?

Should the canteen be abolished?

Should the policy of prohibition be maintained in Alaska and the Indian Territory and extended to our new island territories?"

Could anything be more delicately ludicrous than this program for reaching the great industrial evil, which we shall legally foster and protect in every island that we grab! We shall set up a system for legally robbing the natives of all their valuable possessions; capitalists will secure every fertile spot and hire the work done by native gangs at just savage subsistence wages; they will plant factories and use the cheap labor to undersell white labor in our own country and other parts of the world. But this outlook does not affront our Christian Citizens, for they are accustomed to see white men in their own country dealt with on the same principles, and to recognize it as a wise ordination of providence. What troubles them is whether these savages will keep the Sabbath, whether they can be cut off from the few brutal pleasures accessible to their kind—prize-fights, bull-fights, etc.,—whether to prohibit them from drinking (it would make them more

serviceable workmen and ought to be done), and whether the pagans can be restrained by our purifying law from the sin of wives and free divorces. Excellent fun indeed! Heroic work to do while the American people through their army and navy are assisting the capitalists to change the natives into that broken-down, wrung-out, off-scouring of civilization, the wage-worker. But while we are enforcing our sexual hypocrisy upon them will not our Christian Citizens prepare a convention against the palaces of prostitution that will enter with the white man's civilization, and forestall them by forbidding prostitution in the Philippines by law?

How much weight, then, should the plea of annexing savages to bless them have? Simply none. The altruists who are praying for a new chance to do good are deferential supplicators of capitalists for funds to paint over the deep wounds which capitalism will inflict. In timorous hope of contributions they have to creep before these great men with anxious circumspection. They can champion no reform that is odious to the lords of the purse. They may amuse themselves debating questions of the canteen, prohibition, bull-fights, divorce, educational and property tests of citizenship that would disfranchise the natives and give the capitalists legislative control, and even civil service reform to which only the professional politician could demur, but they will religiously let the great abuses alone: they will never utter a sound against the capitalist methods of employment, the irresistible processes of capitalism that sponge up wealth into a central hoard and debauch the population to a servile dependence equal to slavery. The religious gentlemen who should speak of these outrages would lose their nice comfort. For comfort's sake they hold their peace. But the division of spoils is suitable. The capitalists take the loaf and give the religionists the crumbs. There is a much meaning lesson here: even the forces of tyrannical selfishness are leagued against religious sycophants. Canting religion has grown too weak to longer exact payment.

But let others realize the fraud. Let them beware of making themselves the equally degraded instruments of capitalist usage and contempt. Let them close their ears to the cry for expansion which these pious persons are so starvingly paid to raise.

CHAPTER II.

Imperialism for the Sake of Mankind

1. Anglo-Saxon Claims.

The plea of duty to the world involves a wider outlook. We are solicited to extend our proprietorship and rule in order to disseminate our free institutions over the earth. Wherever our liberal institutions go they are presumed to convey enlightenment and elevation. We are told that it is a critical moment for mankind, that England has for some generations been bucking against the entire world alone, that her strength is failing, and that destiny calls us to the rescue. She has nobly carried the Anglo-Saxon habits of freedom to darkened peoples, and now, her generous task incomplete, she falters under the strain, her envious rivals block the path and nibble ferociously at the fair slices of the world she has already benignly carved out. The great prize at stake for mankind is Anglo-Saxon lordship of the globe. Anglo-Saxonism is set forth to be a higher form of civilization than any other race can bring to the conquered continents, and it is plaintively alleged that England's struggle is ours and that the spread of Anglo-Saxonism, its lofty realities and loftier ideals, is the sacred affair of every English speaking man. They reproach us with standing idly apart from the great world's affairs too long, shirking our magnanimous responsibilities in the stupendous drama of international evolution, and Senator Lodge sadly discerns the "humiliation of the United States in the eyes of civilized mankind" if we do not pluck

the ripe fruit of imperialism, and the stain upon us of being "incapable of great affairs or of taking rank where we belong as one of the greatest of the great world powers." With all this pathos the trade-bedizened prize of China is mixed up. Let her not become Russianized, they implore, to annihilate Anglo-Saxon prestige. These are evidently high matters needing subtle study.

2. English Protests Against Imperialism.

In moments and destinies so critical nothing must be taken for granted. What is this princely gift that England is seeking to bestow upon humanity? Why is it so necessary for Anglo-Saxons to rule mankind? Much depends on the answer to this. The answer given by English statesmen is certainly dim, doubting and obscure. In fact we shall be greatly surprised by the persistence with which the good and self-interest of the Anglo-Saxons enters into the disinterested creed of universal good to mankind. But in England there is far from that contented and assured agreement that we should expect in an unselfish nation devoted to the great policy of ameliorating mankind. The Liberal party is on the verge of wreck over this beautiful ideal of an Anglo-Saxon world.

On the 15th of December a great conference of Liberals was held at Birmingham to face the crisis occasioned by Harcourt's resignation. In the evening Mr. Asquith made what the Liberal press called a "great speech" in the course of which he said:

"Gentlemen, we are not Jingoese, we repudiate that pinchbeck imperialism which regards the whole world as its legitimate provinces, and which flaunts its flag and challenge in the face of every power in turn. We base the title of Great Britain in India, in Egypt, and wherever we are exercising our supremacy, over the populations of any country or race, not upon brute force, not upon the authority of disciplined strength over the scattered resources of the untrained intelligence of the undeveloped races. (Hear, hear.) We

base it upon the work which we do, upon the benefits which we confer, and, above all, upon that which is, or ought to be, the predominant purpose of our policy, upon the slow, but in course of time the effective association with those to whom we came in the character of strangers and conquerors—the task of helping them work out for themselves a higher and a better political and social ideal. (Hear, hear.)”

If Mr. Asquith does not know that there are many in England who do know that there is a wide distance between “that which *is*,” and “that which *ought to be*,” the predominant purpose” of English policy. But on the whole this sounds noble and good and is very different from the imperialism which is at present in the saddle in England. Moderate as it is, what was the general sentiment of the conference as compared with it? That sentiment will possibly stagger the benevolent people whose clarion voice is now calling us to England’s rescue.

At the afternoon session the Rev. Mr. Jowett—note the “Reverend” and “a man of great note in Birmingham”—‘attacked “Imperialism” in all moods and tenses, in a strong speech.’

‘He said an infection was in the air which seemed to have tainted the historic party which had hitherto been the party of peace. It was a tendency which was one of the most perilous of modern days. That word imperialism had become so tainted with suspicion that he was not sure that any self-respecting statesman would aspire to be thought in favor of it. (Cheers.) Imperialism was only a synonym for jingoism—(cheers)—against which they fought and conquered twenty years ago. (Cheers.) He announced the daringly logical conclusion that England was at present playing the part of Stiggins in Europe, “seizing slices of the globe” and glozing it over with “religious posturings.”’ *

Sir Wilfrid Lawson said, the only people who liked war were statesmen, music-hall singers, aldermen,

*London Daily Chronicle report, Dec. 17, 1898.

bishops, and newspaper editors. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. Hirst Hollowell declared that 'it was not a battle of persons or private jealousies that was going on inside the Liberal party, but of principles. The party was not going to be led into jingoism by anybody, and if its leaders or those of any other party were to be disparaged or shunted because they stood up against jingoism, then the members of the party throughout the country would have something to say on the matter. (Loud cheers.) . . . There were two things with which the Liberal party would never make any terms, and these were sectarianism in education and jingoism in foreign politics. (Cheers.)'

*"The net result of the whole was summed up by the observers as a demonstration of unexpected strength against the Liberal Imperialists." **

It seems then that many Englishmen have not the slightest toleration for the talisman by which we are being conjured to expansion—that Anglo-Saxon Imperialism is a blessing to the world.

But no British statesman can speak on this subject with the weight of John Morley because of his known probity, and Mr. Morley has broken with the new Liberalism because of its "imperialistic jingo policy" which he thus defines :

"First, that territory is territory, and all territory is worth acquiring.

"Second, that all territory, especially if anybody happens to want it, is worth paying any price for.

"Third, that the country possesses the purse of Fortunatus, and is free to fling millions here and millions there, with the certainty that benignant fairies will, by magic, make them good.

"Fourth, do not show the slightest regard for the opinions of other nations. You have no share whatever in the great collective responsibility of civilized peoples as the winged guardians of peace and good order in the state system of Europe.

*London Daily Chronicle report, Dec. 17, 1898.

"Fifth, the interests of the people of this country, and advancement in all the arts of civilized life and well-being, are completely and utterly secondary and subordinate questions." *

Mr. Labouchere had already spoken in notable language on some of these points before the Manchester Reform Club. He had said: "The great illusion of the present day was to suppose that an increase of territory meant an increase of trade. As a matter of fact, as could easily be proved by figures, it did not mean any such thing. All the annexations we had made of late were a commercial fallacy, and even the doctrine of the open door had been much exaggerated. The mania at the present time was to spend money in any place excepting England. Instead of spending money in irrigation works in Bahr-el-Ghazal he, as a Londoner, maintained that they ought to spend it rather in providing a good water supply for the inhabitants of the metropolis. When he saw the proposal for the establishment of a school at Khartoum to teach little Arab boys English he could not help thinking what a wonderful people his countrymen were to spend money on such an object as that instead of supplying food and clothing and education to the thousands of poor little English boys at home." †

3. British Imperial Bathos.

These unequivocal protests give the noble mission of England a very different hue. Bathos dances behind all the magnificently generous phrases. We find it in Lord Rosebery's eulogy of the awful Sirdar of the Sudan. "Our task," said the Lord, "is the task of our empire all over the world, not merely to erect a standard of civil government for those who have not hitherto had that standard, but *to enable the people gradually, at a long distance perhaps, but in time at any rate, to take some part in their own administration, and to have a*

*Speech at Montrose, Jan. 1899. See London correspondence of New York Post, Jan. 25.

†London Chronicle, Dec. 14, 1898.

distinctive share in the moulding of their own future." (Cheers.) "Gradually," "at a long distance," "some part," "a distinctive share," these are not aims that make it worth while for the freedom loving American people to sustain England's conquering arm.

The difficulty these Imperialist politicians have in making selfishness seem noble makes one pinch oneself to be sure that they are not on a stage acting for the amusement of mankind. Mr. G. W. Balfour, M. P., Chief Secretary for Ireland, a representative Conservative, wrestling to hide the secrets, gave them away bravely. "Was the Imperial spirit a spirit to be encouraged, or a spirit to be repressed? In a general way, within reasonable limits and within the limits of our strength, he thought the policy of what Lord Rosebery described as pegging out claims to posterity was a wise and sound one. Had we moral justification for pursuing this policy? *If these dependencies were not under the control of this country, they would, for the most part, undoubtedly fall under the control of some other country*, and we had at least this to say at the bar of the world's judgment, that wherever we occupied a territory that territory was opened to the enterprise and the trade of all the world. (Cheers.) *No doubt we sought our own advantage*, but the peculiarity was that our advantage did not exclude the advantage of other people. The second justification which we could plead for this policy was that it was in our power to show that the countries over which our rule had extended had gained by means of that rule *the blessings of order, of good government, and of a higher civilization than that which they previously knew.*" (Cheers.)*

If we don't steal every country that is not already stolen some other Power will steal it—our stealing is therefore righteous. Disraeli established this for us by stealing Cyprus. We seek our own advantage, but we find it to our greater advantage to share our trade advantages with others—therefore we are unselfish. And surely you can't say that we don't bless and civilize

*Speech at Keighley, Dec. 20, 1898.

and keep a splendid police system over the conquered and govern them in a more orderly manner than they governed themselves—therefore if we take their country away from them and rob them of independence it is justified. Yes, but this is unmitigated bathos and rot, and Englishmen who are not muzzled know it and say so. The Saturday Review says this flatly in referring to a paper by Dr. Bonar on the Empire, read before the British Association :

“Dr. Bonar, at any rate, has a quaint notion of the altruistic mission of the Empire. Wealth does not always give power, as he truly says. But he asks us to believe that we hold Egypt, and even India, ‘not from avarice, but from love of governing.’ ‘Our own colonies,’ he adds, ‘are not bound to us by a nexus of cash payments.’ Does Dr. Bonar really imagine that we hold India and Egypt primarily because we think that we can govern them better than any one else can? The plain unvarnished truth is that the Empire was built up as the result of the pursuit of gain, and if we do not attempt to exact immediate cash payments or their equivalent from the Colonies today, we abstain because rude experience warns us of the certain consequences.”*

The canting utterances of Lord Salisbury confirm this. Said he:† “The Empire is advancing and must advance. (Hear, hear.) The great strength you have must be used unflinchingly, unsparingly, but still prudently, for the advancement of the interest of the Empire, and for the benefit of mankind. (Cheers.) And happy will be the Minister in future days who will be able to render you as good an account as I think we can render you today—(loud and prolonged cheers)—that we have used the force that is entrusted to us not violently, not sentimentally, but with calm and courageous calculation for the advancement of the interests of the Empire and the benefits of the civilization of mankind. (Loud cheers.)”

The words of Mr. Chamberlain confirm this. Taunted by Mr. Asquith with ‘inconsistency in having

*Sept. 17, 1898.

†Speaking at a dinner of the Constitutional Club, London, Dec. 16, 1898.

at one moment boasted of Britain's glorious isolation and at another advocated an alliance, he replied that England is "gloriously isolated" in her ability to defend her own exclusive interests; but she needs an ally when she is called upon *to assist in the promotion of the interests of others.** †

The speech of the new Lord Curzon at the luncheon given in his honor by the directors of the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company on the eve of his departure to rule India confirms it.† The occasion was significant, he was speaking to great commercial men.

'Among the chief advantages of the imperial connection between England and India he included the possibility of the improved development of India. [The usual flourish of duty and disinterestedness.] . . . The chairman had incidentally referred to India in the interests of business men as a field for commercial enterprise. [Transition to the motive of avarice begins.] He could not help thinking, although desirous to avoid prophecy, that there would be great developments in that respect. (Hear, hear.) [Warm commercial response.] . . . If we could establish in India anything like stability of exchange—a great problem to which any outgoing Viceroy must turn his attention—he believed that confidence would revive, and that British capital would flow more freely to India. It might perhaps be regarded as a counsel of perfection to look at the case from any other point of view than that of expediency and self-interest, but in all matters connected with India he believed the point of view of duty and of obligation was paramount. (Hear, hear.) [Another blast on the trumpet of pharisaism with fine commercial appreciation.] . . . But here, as business men, *they might pardon and sympathize with him if he looked at the matter also from the sordid point of view of the £ s. d.* [Now preliminaries are over and Curzon gets down to business.] Let them look at the trade of India, and compare it with the trade of our colonies. He found that the total sea-borne trade of India for 1896-7, which

*Saturday Review, Dec. 10, 1898.

†See the London Chronicle, Dec. 3, 1898.

was an unprosperous year, almost equalled that of the whole of our Australian colonies, and was much greater than that of our South African and North American colonies combined ; indeed, it constituted nearly one-tenth of the trade of the whole British Empire, and was more than one-third of the trade of the whole Empire outside of the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) These were astounding figures, and if any deduction was to be drawn from them, it was certainly not the conclusion that, even regarded from the point of view of self-interest, India was a matter in which we had little or no concern. On the contrary, India was of vital interest. (Cheers.) [The commercial skeleton of England's civilizing philanthropy is at length completely bared.]

The determination of England to monopolize education in Africa confirms it. Conveying to Kitchener the approval of " Her Majesty's Government " of the Khartoum College project Lord Salisbury said : " The reconciliation of the races which inhabit the Nile Valley to a government which, in its principles and its methods, must be essentially Western, is a task of the extremest difficulty. It will tax the resources of the present generation, and of those who come after them, for many years before the wall of prejudice can be thrown down which separates the thoughts of the European and the thoughts of the Egyptian and the Soudanese races, and until it is to a considerable extent accomplished we cannot count securely upon their co-operation, either in the duties of government or in the promotion of industrial progress. The only method by which this reconciliation can be attained is to give to the races whom you have conquered access to the literature and knowledge of Europe.

" Your scheme, therefore, for establishing a machinery by which European knowledge can be brought to the inhabitants of the Valley of the Nile is not only in itself most admirable, but it represents the only policy by which the civilizing mission of this country can effectively be accomplished."

The general attitude of the nation is mirrored in the following editorial opinion :

"For this College at Khartoum would be a new departure in Africa. There we have lavished millions in attempts to teach Christianity, with and without material improvements in the condition of the people. In spite of widely circulated annual reports, the political observer can see no great results—none at any rate commensurate with the outlay. And here would be a new line, the only line possible, as the Prime Minister, whose Christianity no one will suspect, has very properly said, by which the civilizing mission of Great Britain can be thoroughly accomplished in the Nile basin."

All this seems very innocent and disinterested. But about this time France began to talk of assisting in the arduous task of 'reconciling' African with European civilization by founding two colleges in the Nile Valley, one at Khartoum and one at Fashoda. M. Deloncle in a letter to the "Temps" said: "Will you be so kind as to inform your readers that, anxious not to be left behind in this work of education, a French group has in its turn taken the initiative for the foundation of two establishments for native education and instruction—in the first place, 'The French School' at Khartoum, and, later on, 'The Marchand School' at Fashoda. The greater part of the funds required for this double project is already assured by generous donations."

We may presume that England thankfully welcomed this offer to share the burden of civilizing the Soudanese races, a task in Salisbury's words of "extremest difficulty," but she did nothing of the sort. English papers scorned the offer and called it an "amusing project." Why amusing? If England's purpose is the good of the Nile people why will she not co-operate gladly with a highly civilized nation like France to educate them? Educators and scientists of all nations of the earth are loyally co-operating to advance science and education irrespective of race and political rivalry. But we can understand very well why England will not co-operate or share if her 'civilization' is domin-

ation and supremacy in the Nile region for commercial ends, and the fact that she will not brook assistance in educating and civilizing establishes our contention that her ruling purpose is not civilization at all but commercialism, that she would not be held in Africa or India a day by the good she can do there, and that what holds her is the gain she gets or expects to get.

The New York Tribune, referring to Lord Cromer's announcement to the Soudanese of the civilization that is ahead of them, expressed a great thought very suavely. "Of course," it remarked, "it may be objected that this action of the British is criminal aggression, rank imperialism, et cetera, and that it is a shameful thing to set up a government at Omdurman without a favorable plebiscitum in Dem Bekir. But we doubt whether such considerations will undo or defeat the convention which has been made, or will turn back the rising tide of civilization in the Dark Continent." The rising of European commercial rule and the falling tide of African independence, would be true. Call "criminal aggression" by the name of "civilization" and its sins are all forgiven; it is redeemed, purified and ready to enter heaven.

The curious reader will find in the British and Foreign State Papers for the year 1854-5,* the following words: 'In 1854 a grand jury in the Williamsburg district [South Carolina] declared,' "as our unanimous opinion, that the Federal law abolishing the African Slave Trade is a public grievance. We hold this trade has been and would be, if re-established, a blessing to the American people, *and a benefit to the African himself.*"

The idea that slavery was a benefit to the African himself was made a corner stone of the institution of slavery. It brought inward consolation to the good man who held slaves or upheld slavery. Now, the enslaving of lower nations is good for the nation that enslaves and a benefit to the nation that is enslaved.

*Page 1156, quoted by W. E. B. Du Bois: "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in the United States," p. 169.

The good of our time find peace and perfection in this doctrine.

4. Only Cash-Paying Philanthropy Wanted.

But there are two final forms of proof with which we clinch the foregoing argument. First, England shows no inclination to go adventuring in those countries where there is magnificent opportunity for unselfish philanthropy and little or none for profit. Secondly, English dealing with the subjugated races shows that commerce and profit are primary, and that civilization and upbuilding are desired and fostered just in so far as they promote commerce and profit. Let us give examples. Leonard Courtney in his recent presidential address before the Royal Statistical Society on "An Experiment in Commercial Expansion," gave a study of the Congo Free State. Europe placed the Congo State in the hands of the King of Belgium for "commercial and philanthropic exploitation." The net commercial result was that "the Congo trade represented but little more than 0.7 per cent. of the total trade of Belgium." This, said Mr. Courtney, "was sadly disproportionate to the anticipations of the enterprise."

He said that "*if we wished to think accurately about such enterprises as the Congo experiment, philanthropy and commerce must be separated from one another in our thoughts.* As a philanthropic adventure the Congo had certainly been a very mixed success. *An extremely chequered record of war, enforced labor, and exacted tribute might, after long years, effect a certain transformation of the social condition of the inhabitants.* . . . As for the commercial success of the Congo, . . . enough had been said to show that it was disputable whether the resources of the country were such as to sustain a permanent trade, even with the help of the railway. . . . *The immense development of wealth and commerce, and of civilized populations following the establishment of some of the colonies of Europe,* had encouraged the belief that all adventures to which the same name could be

given must be crowned with the same success. Yet the conditions which had secured this success in the past could be easily indicated, *and it became a simple inquiry whether like conditions were to be found in any land offered for new enterprise.* . . . We were justified in saying that nothing could be deduced from the history of American colonization or Indian domination to justify hopes of a *lucrative commercial expansion* in Central Africa. Missionary and philanthropic labor might be spent there with approval, and with some measure of slow success, but the foundation of healthful colonies furnishing outlets for population and commerce was not hopeful.

"Sir R. Giffen moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Courtney for his valuable paper, which was seconded by Sir F. S. Powell, *who thought this country ought to be congratulated that the Congo State did not belong to us. (Cheers.)*"

Here was an instance where a gathering of very influential and representative Englishmen put itself on record as being highly gratified that England did not own the Congo, because there was no money in it, although the opportunities for civilization and philanthropy there were recognized as immense. If civilizing were the actual as it is the feigned object of England this is the very kind of country that she would choose to own and to colonize, on account of its unbounded needs. The law of imperialistic colonizing is this: No outlay shall be made for 'civilizing' purposes which does not promise to return, sooner or later, the usual rate of returns on invested capital. The corollary of this law is that civilization is not an end in itself but a means to an end—a means for increasing and firmly establishing commerce. This simple principle is a key to the entire mighty network of imperialist dogmas concerning duty, religion, humanity, unselfishness and civilization. Lord Rosebery skilfully admitted and used this principle in his eulogy of the Sirdar's college, when he said that 'if our civilization was to prevail *against other contending European civilizations*, etc., . . . he [Kitchener] saw that a beginning must be made in the way of a center of education.'

5. Is India Happy?

The dealings of England with her lower subject races are a sturdy proof that civilizing and uplifting are not her ends excepting as they increase and strengthen her sources of income. Of the recent terrific slaughter of the Soudanese by machine guns, I shall not speak here, but shall take the illustration that is most favorable to England—the Indian Empire. One word first, however, as to what civilization and race upbuilding is. It is the boast of English Imperialists that England ‘brings into the minds and into the lives of the subject people, not as phantoms of the imagination, but as solid, vivid realities, the ideas of order, justice, and humanity.’ (Mr. Asquith.) But these ideas alone are very far from civilizing. The dog in distinction to the wolf has these ideas, learned from contact with civilized man. He is tender, kind, orderly, and true, he is even just, but he lacks that which the concept of civilization demands. He lacks independent development, self-development, the power of standing alone and going forward without leaning or being led. Order, justice, and humanity are developed in chattel slaves, but they lack a prime requisite of civilization, without which civilization is not. They are not free. Now the glib lords and lawyers, bishops and parliamentarians and prophets of England are fiery in praise of the order and security that England establishes, but they do not explain to us just what these are worth without freedom, self-government, and self-development, a thing that we should very much like to know.

To what extent is England developing the Indians, strengthening their character, training them to be self-sustained, independent, and free? As to this none can speak better than Indians themselves. The London Indian Society held its annual conference for 1898 not long ago* and the members gave very vigorous expression to their opinion of British treatment of India. The chairman, Mr. D. Naoroji, moved a resolution:

*Dec. 28, 1898. Reported in the London Daily Chronicle.

"That in accordance with the oft-declared and pledged policy of the British people, through Acts and Resolutions of Parliament and Proclamations of Her Majesty the Queen, to treat Indians exactly as the British subjects in this country; . . . this conference is of opinion and urges upon the government in the name of British justice and honor, that Indians should be allowed commissions and command in the Indian army in the same manner and through the same methods as are open to Englishmen. . . ."

'Mr. Naoroji referred to the bravery and heroism shown by the native soldiers. . . They ought by rights to be treated as British citizens, *but the practice of the authorities was the very reverse.* The chairman quoted opinions which showed that *the native soldiers had remained true to their salt, even to the extent of fighting bravely against their own kith and kin.* . . . He claimed something more than justice from the British people; he claimed their gratitude. (Cheers.) It was the money and blood of India which had built up the British Empire there. (Cheers.) . . . The present system was not only an injustice; it was a gross insult to the whole Indian nation. (Cheers.) He had been in communication with the War Office on the matter, and had been told that the Queen's Warrant forbade Indian subjects holding commissions in the Indian army.'

It would be unnecessary to read further to learn the degradation of Indian character under British rule. Although debarred of all promotion and compelled to serve in the lowest rank against their own countrymen, against their own flesh and blood, they obey. True to their salt, less manly and chivalrous than common mercenaries or bandits, they slaughter fathers, brothers, sons at the command of foreigners. They are proud of it. The fashion of their grievance is that they want a share of the military offices. And on the other hand the civilizing English cannot spare them—they want all good things for themselves. And yet the British people through acts of Parliament and other means 'had often pledged themselves to treat Indians exactly as British subjects in England!'

Seconding the resolution, Mr. Mahtab Singh said that 'as loyal subjects they wanted to warn the British Government of the danger of its present policy, which if not altered would turn a nation of patriotic and loyal subjects into rebels, whose aim would be to destroy the British rule. (Cheers.)'

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt moved a resolution 'deploring all legislation restricting self-government in India.' Under Northbrook's vice-royalty, he said, 'representative government was first introduced into India, which conferred upon the rate-payers of Calcutta the right to select two-thirds of their municipal councillors. Since then this measure has worked extremely well, and the new municipal council had transformed Calcutta into one of the healthiest places in India. The time had now come for the extension of municipal government to other municipalities, but the present Government was no friend of municipal government. It had been striving to curtail the powers of the London County Council, and therefore there was no wonder that it was trying to abrogate Lord Northbrook's valuable measure. (Shame.) *Never within his memory had there been such a state of alarm throughout the whole of Bengal as had been caused by this measure. The impression was spreading that it was not possible to obtain any new rights by constitutional methods. There had been forty years of peace and loyalty, and now the Government by its action was teaching a very dangerous lesson to the people of India. (Cheers.)*'

Mr. R. C. Sen said 'it was a mistake to trust too much to the generosity of the English people.'

Mr. Bipin Chunder Pal moved: "That this meeting condemns the new Sedition Law of India, (1) which makes invidious distinctions between different classes of her Majesty's subjects; (2) which seeks to restrict the free discussion of Indian measures by her Majesty's Indian subjects in England, by threats of prosecution on their return to India; (3) which takes away the liberty of the press that has been enjoyed in India for over half a century, and substitutes a method

of repression, unworthy of the British government ; (4) which empowers magistrates in India, who are heads of the police, to demand security for good behavior from editors of newspapers, to refuse such security when offered, and to send the editors to jail with hard labor without trial for any specific offence ; . . .”

No people in the world have said more in censure of the French methods of justice exposed by the case of Dreyfus, or of the German gag laws and Imperial prosecutions for the terrible crime of speaking as you think, called *lese majestat*, than the English, yet here is England jailing Indian editors without trial, through her Dogberry police magistrates and depriving her Indian subjects of the right of free speech. This is the England that, as Mr. Asquith says, makes the ideas of order, justice and humanity, ‘solid, vivid realities’ in the minds and lives of the people dependent on her.

Mr. Pal enforced his resolution by declaring that ‘those who had drawn it up had committed sedition under the new law over and over again. (Laughter and cheers.) Further the people who had been speaking that afternoon could be prosecuted in India for their speeches—that is, if they were Indian natives. If they were English-born, they could say what they liked. The freedom of the Press had been the bulwark of English rule in India for the past forty years. The speech of the previous speaker was only an indication of the spirit which was growing up amongst the young men in India. There was a spirit of unrest and discontent which was spreading in quarters of which Government knew little. Sedition was present in India, and if the government shut up the mouths of the educated Indians, who alone could explain to their fellow-countrymen what British rule meant to India, and how necessary it was that it should continue, it must be prepared for an outburst which would shake the British Empire to its foundations. (Cheers.)’

It would plainly seem that England has brought herself to a grave dilemma. She is convinced that if she does not enforce harsh sedition laws which shut the mouths of the educated Indians and prevent them from

'explaining to their fellow-countrymen what British rule means in India,' there will be a sedition, and here is a body of highly intelligent Indians assuring her that if she does not repeal those obnoxious laws and give the educated a chance to smoothe the situation over to the masses of their countrymen there will be 'an outburst that will shake the British Empire to its foundations.' In other words British rule is neither safe if it is explained nor if it is not explained : it will not bear investigation and it will not bear not being investigated.

Having this expression of opinion from the Hindus, let us consider the words of a candid Englishman, Mr. Goldwin Smith. He believes that India "has been steadily administered in the interest of the Hindu." Granting for the moment only that this is so—we do not grant it longer—the incapacity of England to civilize is even the more shown by the results, for her efforts to help have 'reduced the population to human sheep, without aspirations, without spur to self-improvement of any kind.' This climax of seventy-five years of civilizing effort thoroughly discredits the principle of Imperialism. "If," Mr. Smith says, "empire is to be regarded as a field for philanthropic effort and the advancement of civilization, it may safely be said that nothing in that way equals, or ever has equalled, the British Empire in India. For the last three-quarters of a century at all events, the Empire has been steadily administered in the interest of the Hindu. Yet what is the result? Two hundred millions of human sheep, without native leadership, without patriotism, without aspirations, without spur to self-improvement of any kind ; multiplying, too many of them, in abject poverty and in infantile dependence on a government which their numbers and necessity will too probably in the end overwhelm. Great Britain has deserved and won the respect of the Hindu ; but she has never won, and is perhaps now less likely than ever to win, his love. The two races remain perfectly alien to each other. Lord Elgin sorrowfully observes, that there is more of a bond between man and dog than between

Englishman and Hindu. The natives generally, having been disarmed, cannot rise against the conqueror ; and their disaffection is shown only in occasional and local outbreaks, chiefly of a religious character, or in the impotent utterances of the native press."*

Of such periodic phenomena as Indian plagues and famines, their conduciveness to Hindu happiness, and British responsibility for them, I shall say but little. Julian Hawthorn and Lee Merewether, after personal investigations in India during the famine plague of 1897, agreed that not less than "eight million persons had already died of famine and disease directly caused thereby"—"eight times the population of New York ; nearly twice that of London,"† and the famine had not then run its course. Mr. Hawthorn tried lamely to exculpate the English government and then said : "It is true that at the moment when millions of Indians were starving, there was paid in London for seats to see the Jubilee *money enough to avert all that inconceivable suffering*—yes, and much of it was paid by Americans ; and the rest was paid by other foreigners and by the English themselves. *It was a vain and selfish expenditure no doubt ;* but it was spent, not by the Government, but by private persons. *They were like other persons all over the world.*" As if the waste of these resources at such a time *by private persons* in the slightest degree mitigated the responsibility and crime of the English nation ! And that these vain and selfish spenders, ourselves included, 'were like other persons all over the world,' is the very thing that shows conclusively that these civilized people 'all over the world' cannot rule a subject race unselfishly.

6. British Humanity in the Soudan.

The facts, we believe, warrant this statement : That lower races under Imperial rule are dealt with on a code of principles specially framed for them, and differing widely from the principles that white races observe

*"The Moral of the Cuban War," in the Forum, Nov. 1898.

†The Cosmopolitan Magazine, 1897, pp. 372-3, and 658.

toward one another. The codes for the lesser races vary. Take as instance the Belgian code toward the Congo Free State. This Free State "is not," says the *Saturday Review*,* "free in any sense of the word. The Belgians have replaced the slavery they found by a system of servitude at least as objectionable. Of what certain Belgians can do in the way of barbarity Englishmen are painfully aware. Mr. Courtney [in the address already quoted] mentions an instance of a Captain Rom who ornamented his flower beds with the heads of twenty-one natives killed in a punitive expedition. This is the Belgian idea of the most effectual method of promoting the civilization of the Congo. Exports from the State fall seriously short of imports; such as they are, they are maintained not by legitimate commerce, but by raids made on the ivory stores of luckless native chiefs where tribute is said to be in arrears. The tax-gatherer, as we know from consular reports, follows every step of life in the Congo State. Yet expenditure is something like a quarter of a million sterling beyond its income, and the King of the Belgians has to bear the burden of £40,000 a year in order that Belgium may increase her trade by 0.7 per cent." England claims that her code is better than this, and thence makes the dizzy jump that it approaches the stainless and perfect. In truth it is a code for lower races, framed to keep them dependent for unknown periods, and framed with the intent to give the English trade benefits. Her code, as already indicated, is shrewder business policy.

But is the English page so clean and white? Was Captain Rom an exceptional brute to the wretched Africans? It would not seem so if we contemplate the British Soudan campaign. There seem to have been atrocities there well nigh unheard of in 'civilized' warring before. Mr. E. N. Bennett, an eye witness, tells of these in the *January Contemporary Review*.†

*December 17, 1898.

†Of Mr. Bennett's title to a hearing the *N. Y. Tribune* says: "He is not to be coughed down as a credulous schoolmaster, who ought to have confined his energies to entomology and archaeology, and to have kept at a safe distance from the battle-field."

“On our left along the lower slopes of Gebel Surcham a large number of camp-followers and native servants were already busy among the white-clad figures which lay stretched in little groups as our shell fire or the long-range volleys of the Lee-Metfords had struck them down. These looters had armed themselves somehow or other with rifles, spears, and even clubs, and made short work of any wounded man they came across. Poor wretches who in their agony had crawled under the scanty shade of a rock or shrub were clubbed to death or riddled with bullets by the irresponsible brutality of these native servants, who were in such wholesome dread of a Dervish, even when prostrate, that they frequently fired several shots into bodies already dead before they advanced to strip the corpse of its *gibbeh* of arms. . . . This wholesale slaughter was not confined to Arab servants. It was stated that orders had been given to kill the wounded. Whether this was so or not I do not know, but certainly no protest was made when the Soudanese dispatched scores of wounded men who lay in their path. The Dervishes who were stretched on the sand within a few yards were bayoneted, or, in some instances, stabbed with their own spears. . . . Arabs who lay further out in the desert at some little distance from the line of march, and happened, unfortunately for themselves, to move or turn over in their agony, were immediately pierced by rifle bullets. On some occasions shots were fired into the bodies of wounded men at such close quarters that the smell of burning flesh was positively sickening.”

Justification is pleaded because the wounded Arab sometimes treacherously slaughters his enemy, but Mr. Bennett replies that the instances of this ‘are, after all, extremely few in number,’ and that ‘the wounded Dervish has become dangerous because he fully expects to be killed.’ He continues :

“But no justification whatever exists for the butchery of *unarmed* or manifestly helpless men lying wounded on the ground. This certainly took place after the battle of Omdurman. Dervishes who lay with shat-

tered legs or arms, absolutely without weapons, were bayoneted and shot without mercy. This unsoldierly work was not even left to the exclusive control of the black troops ; our own British soldiers took part in it. At one place, on the western slopes of Surgham, I noticed a fine old Dervish with a gray beard, who, disabled by a wound in his leg, lay prostrate beside a small bush. He had apparently attempted to escape toward Omdurman with the rest of the Khalifa's forces who survived, but his wound had prevented this, and the fugitive had sunk down on the ground about eight yards behind his son, a boy of seventeen, whose right leg had also been lacerated by a bullet. Neither the father nor the son *had any weapons at all*, yet a Highlander stepped out of the ranks and drove his bayonet through the old man's chest. The victim of this needless brutality begged in vain for mercy, and clutched the soldier's bayonet, reddening his hands with his own blood in a futile attempt to prevent a second thrust. No effort was made by any comrade or officer to prevent this gratuitous bit of butchery, nor, of course, could any officer have interfered very well, if the soldier—as was said to be the case—was only acting in accordance with the wishes of the general in command."

The general in command was the Sirdar, that Lord Kitchener who has been making the noble appeals to the British purse to found a college near the site of these slaughters, for the advancement of humanity. Let us follow Mr. Bennett's description of British humanity a little farther.

"No attempt was made, either on the day of the battle or next day, to do anything for the wounded Dervishes. . . . To lie for two days without water in the heat of a Soudan August is bad enough, but when the natural thirst is augmented by the fever which invariably accompanies gunshot wounds the torture must be terrible. . . . Hundreds of wounded Dervishes who had failed to escape from the field were left to perish miserably within easy reach of our succour had it been forthcoming."

The story of unspeakable British barbarism continues :

"There was another feature in our capture of Omdurman which was truly deplorable. By the time we had repulsed the last Dervish attack and were rapidly advancing upon Omdurman, the streets leading to the southern exits of the town were crowded with fugitives. In addition to mounted Baggaras and Dervish infantry, a chaotic mass of non-combatants, men, women and children, dragging after them camels, horses, and donkeys, laden with goods and chattels—all this confused stream of human beings and animals was pressing madly forward in panic-stricken flight. Orders were given to fire upon the fugitives, and, as the artillerymen on the gunboats from their raised positions could see well over the walls, a deadly fire was opened upon the crowded thoroughfares. One street especially, which led down to the river, was swept by a frightful hail of Maxim bullets, which mowed the fugitives down in scores. . . . Next day some five hundred dead bodies lay scattered about the streets of Omdurman, and among them were corpses of women and little children. . . . Two women were bending sorrowfully over the dead body of a Dervish, when a non-commissioned officer went up and deliberately shot one of the women with a revolver.

The attention of those who erroneously think that the Anglo-Saxon is an humane and civilizing race is respectfully called to Mr. Bennett's conclusions :

"I have written the above paragraphs with the utmost reluctance, *but it is certainly high time that the conscience of civilized nations realized that some considerations are due even to a semi-civilized or barbarous enemy.* The conduct of the Belgians in the Congo Free State, the French in Algeria, the Germans in the Camaroons, the Russians in Central Asia, ourselves in South Africa and the Soudan—*the conduct of the various nations who are sharing in the partition of Africa and Asia, seems to be based on the assumption that the rights of the native in a state of war are practically nil.* . . .

"Christian England goes almost wild with indig-

nation if Moslems commit atrocities. . . . *But Protestant sympathies seem almost incapable of extension beyond the limits of Christendom. No public sympathy is bestowed upon the wretched natives who, when they incur inevitable defeat at the hands of the civilized invader, are either butchered as they lie wounded on the field or are left to die without an effort to save them.*"

In the London Morning Post of September 29 Lieutenant Winston Churchill wrote.*

"We had not gone far when individual Dervishes began to walk toward the advancing squadrons, throwing down their weapons, holding up their hands, and imploring mercy. *The laws of war do not admit the right of a beaten enemy to quarter.* The victor is not obliged to accept his surrender. Of his charity he may do so, but there is no obligation, provided, of course, that he makes it clear to the suppliant that he must continue to fight."

The presumption is that these suppliants for mercy were murdered by the world-civilizing and humane English.

If the general assumption of the civilized Powers of Europe, including England, is that 'the rights of the native in a state of war are practically *nil*,' what will be their opinion of these rights when the natives are not in a state of war? This question searches civilization through and through. The answer to it is that the treatment of the natives in peace will be as far below the standard of treatment of equal whites, as the treatment of the natives in a state of war is below the treatment of the whites in a state of war.

The just conclusion from this review of English purposes, achievement, and methods, is that we should not be helping the world by going to the aid of English Imperialism. The vaunted battle for civilization that she has been fighting has been for herself. By going to her rescue in the name of Anglo-Saxonism we should be helping to enthrone English methods of selfishness over mankind. Let England change before

*Quoted by Mr. Bennett.

she asks this. Let us refuse to aid her until she does change. Let us act on the truth that the Anglo-Saxonism represented by British Imperialism is not a good, that it is coarse, grasping, domineering and cruel, and if she will walk in that path let her walk alone. Let us save our branch of the race for better things, and restrain ourselves from being used as a tool of her folly. Let us denounce her too flimsy hypocrisy and do what we can, in conjunction with her real statesmen and her nobler citizens, to win her to a more honest and honorable national life.

CHAPTER III.

Our Crime in the Philippine Islands.

1. The New Policy of Corruption.

We now propose to show that the new American Imperialism is a strict reproduction of the British Imperialism that has been described. If that is lovely and desirable, so is its American imitation. But let us permit American Imperialists to speak for themselves and to disclose their own character as we have allowed the English to do. This will show whether the Anglo-Saxonism that would be carried to the Philippines and elsewhere is worth carrying, or should be watchfully kept at home and extinguished.

Charles Denby, our one time minister to China and now a member of McKinley's commission to study the Philippines, has published a brief paper in answer to the question "Shall We Keep the Philippines?" * Being a man of prominence and authority among the expansionists we give his words their due weight. They express the change in American morality toward the world which expansionists are inculcating and practising. This man is the type of those who surround and influence the president. He defines a hard and selfish national policy toward the weak. Every important thing that has happened, everything that is happening, goes to establish this proposition:

That hard and selfish men, and hard and selfish policies, will control our imperialist relations; that the kind and well-meaning will be overruled. There is no inten-

*The Forum, November, 1898.

tion of mildness, humanity and justice, in the forces that are now gaining ascendancy in American life.

Here is Mr. Denby, the type of the hard and selfish imperialist politician of the new school, openly impressing upon the country this crass and vulgar European doctrine. Thus Mr. Denby:

"... We have become a great people. We have a great commerce to take care of. We have to compete with the commercial nations of the world in far-distant markets. *Commerce, not politics is king. The manufacturer and the merchant dictate to diplomacy, and control elections.* The art of arts is the extension of commercial relations,—in plain language, the selling of native products and manufactured goods.

"I learned what I know of diplomacy in a severe school. *I found among my colleagues not the least hesitation in proposing to their respective Governments to do anything which was supposed to be conducive to their interests. There can be no other rule for the government of all persons who are charged with the conduct of affairs than the promotion of the welfare of their respective countries.*"

This then is what expansion and that noble 'world-diplomacy' with which our ears are being daily tickled, bring us to! Here is Mr. Denby, corrupt and confessedly corrupted by this high diplomacy which is to make us a sainted and respected nation before mankind, glorying in the corruption and trying to corrupt his countrymen. If there was ever needed proof that we should keep ourselves unspotted from the filth and foulness of those European and Asiatic complications that territory stealing will assuredly bring, here is that proof. For contact with European codes inflicts those codes upon us. Denby continues his exposure of Imperialism, and applies its Christlike morality to the Philippines:

"We have the right as conquerors to hold the Philippines. We have the right to hold them as part payment of a war indemnity. This policy may be characterized as unjust to Spain; but is the result of the for-

tunes of war. All nations recognize that the conqueror may dictate the terms of peace."

"I am in favor of holding the Philippines because I cannot conceive of any alternative to our doing so, *except the seizure of territory in China*; and I prefer to hold them rather than to oppress further the helpless Government and people of China. I want China to preserve her autonomy, to become great and prosperous; and *I want these results not for the interests of China, but for our interests. I am not the agent or attorney of China; and, as an American, I do not look to the promotion of China's interests, or Spain's, or any other country's—but simply of our own.*

"The whole world sees in China a splendid market for our native products,—our timber, our locomotives, our rails, our coal oil, our sheetings, our mining-plants and numberless other articles."

"Dewey's victory is an epoch in the affairs of the Far East. We hold our heads higher. We are coming to our own. We are stretching out our hands for what nature meant should be ours. We are taking our proper rank among the nations of the world. *We are after markets, the greatest markets now existing in the world. Along with these markets will go our beneficent institutions; and humanity will bless us.*"

This is an exquisite example of the British cant and bathos which is exhibiting itself serenely in the new Imperial America. Wherever the basest of international principles of pilfering and freebooting are applied to gain markets, "along with these markets will go our beneficent institutions." The halo of our blessed institutions will pervade and rectify rapacity and wrong! But it will not. We shall not build beneficent institutions on ruffianism and rapacity. 'We are after markets, the greatest markets in the world,' we do not care what we do to get them: we will cheerfully rob and kill, we will wrench their fatherland from the weak and call it ours, we admit it in cold blood, but like the praying professional murderer, we piously declare that God and humanity will bless us in it. How did our war of humanity to rescue Cuba establish the irrel-

evant and unheard-of conclusion that unless we take the Philippines there is 'no alternative except the seizure of territory in China?' There is no bridge between these two irreconcilable opposites excepting the beneficent institution of American rapacity. The Philippines have done us no wrong, China has done us no wrong, but because Spain wronged Cuba and we had compassion, we do no wrong in wronging either the Philippines or China. This is the Imperialists' creed.

Now we do not expect to reach such men as Mr. Denby or Mr. Denby's type—the president, the advisers of the president, the whole tribe of commercial, political, and newspaper Imperialists, who are hounding the nation to crime. "Commerce, not politics, is king. The manufacturer and the merchant dictate to diplomacy, *and control elections.*" We realize this. But we turn away from these classes to *the people*. We think that when they realize the brazen fraud being practised on them, *they* will decide to control elections, not only to put an end to the dishonest and ruffianly policy of Imperialism, but to put an end to the supremacy of commerce over man.

But Mr. Denby has not even yet conveyed to us all the light he has in him. In a more recent article* he presents Imperialist principles in their engaging nakedness without the usual shreds of moral clothing.

"If," he says, "the argument made herein has any force, the legal and constitutional difficulties which were quoted against expansion have disappeared, and the cold, hard, practical question alone remains. Will the possession of these islands benefit us as a nation? *If it will not, set them free tomorrow, and let their people, if they please, cut each other's throats, or play what pranks they please. To this complexion we must come at last, that, unless it is beneficial for us to hold these islands, we should turn them loose.*"

We ask this question: Why, this being the mind and purpose of our imperialist politicians and commercialists, are they allowed to grimace and pose before

*The Forum, February, 1899.

the nation as philanthropists and moralists? Why do we not enforce upon them silence about the good they intend to do the conquered savages, when it is an acknowledged lie? 'Let the Filipinos cut each other's throats unless the appropriation of their country will help our trade. Damn the good we might do them. We are not in this expansion business for their good.' It is true we are not, but we command you hereafter to stop telling us that we are. We propose to hold this argument on your basis, that of hard, brutal selfishness, and to decide whether it is best for us to put ourselves and the peoples absorbed into your selfish hands by adopting your Imperialist policy. And is it too solemn a question to press upon the *moral* expansionists, whether they think in their own unselfish minds that they will be able to overcome and rule these selfish commercial Imperialists and keep them in the paths of righteousness after the deed is done? If they are so moonstruck let them study the forces that now rule this country, and compare them with the paths of righteousness.

Mr. Denby, who is willing the Filipinos shall cut each other's throats if preventing them will not fill our pockets, has one more word which makes an easy transition from Imperialist theory to Imperialist practice. He writes as an inspired commercial prophet and a poet:

"In other lands and other wars the condition of the conquered people has been hard and deplorable. In our case we march bearing gifts, the choicest gifts—liberty and hope and happiness. We carry with us all that gives to the flower of life its perfume. The dusky East rises at our coming; and the Filipino springs to his feet and becomes a free man. This is not poetry, but reality wrought out by a people to whom freedom is the breath of life, and who would scorn to enslave a country or a race."

2. McKinley's Proclamation of War.

When our Congress passed the resolutions which involved us in war with Spain it pledged the following:

Fourth: That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise *sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control* over said island [Cuba], except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

In his message to Congress of December, 1897, McKinley recorded and pledged himself in now famous and memorable language. Said he:

"I speak not of forcible annexation, because that is not to be thought of, and under our code of morality that would be criminal aggression."

But one year later, on December 21, 1898, this man on his own initiative, without the authority of Congress or the people, more than a month before the Treaty of Peace was ratified by the Senate, and when there was no certainty that it would be ratified, issued the following astounding proclamation to the Filipinos:

"With the signature of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain by their respective plenipotentiaries, at Paris, on the 10th inst., and as the result of the victories of American arms, the future control, disposition, and government of the Philippine Islands are ceded to the United States. In fulfillment of the rights of sovereignty thus acquired and the responsible obligations of government thus assumed, the actual occupation and administration of the entire group of the Philippine Islands becomes immediately necessary, and the military government heretofore maintained by the United States in the city, harbor, and bay of Manila is to be extended with all possible despatch to the whole of the ceded territory.

"In performing this duty the military commander of the United States is enjoined to make known to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, that in succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain, in severing the former political relations of the inhabitants and in establishing a new political power, the authority of the United States is to be exerted for the security of the persons and property of the people of the islands, and for the confirmation of all their private rights and relations. It will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come, not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights.

"All persons who, either by active aid or by honest submission, co-operate with the government of the United States to give effect to these beneficent purposes, will receive the reward of its support and protection. All others will be brought within the lawful rule we have assumed, with firmness if need be, but without severity so far as may be possible.

"Within the absolute domain of military authority, which necessarily is and must remain supreme in the ceded territory until the legislation of the United States shall otherwise provide, etc."

This proclamation drove the Filipinos into war against the United States. There was nothing left for them to do unless they consented to national enslavement. It was not only natural but right that they should go to war against us. Our Chief Man had notified them by arbitrary decree that if they did not submit to the usurped authority of the United States—"the absolute domain of military authority," he called it—they would be forced into submission by shell and grapeshot. "Honest submission," or death: they had their choice. "Honest submission," or "forcible annexation." All who did not honestly submit to the proclamation of the tyrant were to be "brought within the lawful rule we have assumed, with firmness if need be." On the 5th of February that firmness began to be applied and 4000 heroic Filipinos who could not honestly submit to the self-made despot were killed. The man who killed them was William McKinley. The death of each one of them was groundless man-slaughter, McKinley was their murderer. He was their self-condemned murderer, convicted by his own words of one year before. "I speak not of forcible annexation, because that is not to be thought of, and *under our code of morality that would be criminal aggression.*"

Under the light of this solemn promise and its bloody repudiation McKinley reveals himself to be the crowning fraud and hypocrite of the age, who has no right to respect from any honest man in the United States. He originally declared a true American principle, that we cannot take any form of authority over a people that is opposed to that authority without criminal aggression and breaking our code of morality; this code holds of Cuba, of the Philippines, and of every foot of ground not our own under the sun that our cupidity might be disposed to seize. The breaking of this code, consciously held and publicly announced, was therefore

an act of detestable piracy, bringing shame and dishonor upon the whole nation.

The administration and the imperialist press have striven to convince our people that the Filipinos are responsible for the war. This is one of the lies that we must tell each other to save a last remnant of our self-respect. But it is nevertheless a lie with no mitigation. McKinley declared war in his Proclamation, and the Filipinos began hostilities. The feeble McKinley doubtless honestly hoped that they would honestly submit to his declaration that they were to be as a conquered and subject people to the United States, without the sad necessity of being obliged to forcibly conquer them. The subterfuge did not work. They had never acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States: for the United States to declare sovereignty was therefore for the United States to declare war.

After the "criminal aggression" of McKinley's proclamation that a state of virtual war already existed, that they must submit or be killed, there was nothing for them to do but to fight. And every true American who resents this dastardly aggression by the president upon a harmless race of barbarians, should be deeply thankful that they did fight, and must hope that our arms will not be able to subdue them. No honorable American can uphold the criminal attempt of American potentates to deprive a weak race of its liberty in the name of liberty. As liberty-loving American citizens it is our duty to uphold the Filipinos in their righteous and patriotic attempt to keep our yoke from falling on them.

3. All Our Rights Forfeited.

For those who hesitate at this let us examine the president's rights when he proclaimed honest submission or kind but firm death to the Filipinos. 1. There was no technical, formal, legal, or constitutional sanction for his proclamation. 2. There would have been no right or sanction for it if the peace treaty had been ratified when he issued it.

Let us first consider what rights we had in the Phil-

ippines *before* the treaty was approved, remembering that its subsequent approval was not retroactive, and could not lend legality to anything that was done before. Now whether we had any after its ratification, we certainly had no status of authority in the Philippines before that act. We were there purely as opponents of Spain. We were not there as conquerors of the Filipinos, but as conquerors of Spain; the Filipinos had helped us drive Spain out. When hostilities ceased the islands were not ours except by temporary occupation. They were not ours either legally or morally. Spain had not ceded them and we had not decided to accept or even ask for them. The only power in America that could make our request for them legal and binding, or accept them if offered, was the Senate, and that had not done so. The propositions drawn up by the Peace Commissioners at Paris were merely an arrangement by which the United States, acting through the Senate as ordered in the Constitution, could request or demand the islands of Spain if it saw fit. The Senate had not acted on the treaty and had consequently not even decided to ask for the Philippines. Our rights even technically were therefore *nil*.

A proclamation of sovereignty from the president when the whole question whether we should take or claim the islands was pending, was justified by nothing but the arbitrary will of that ruler. It was no less an outrage than if he should proclaim our sovereignty over Canada, Ireland or the British Indies. The act was an insult to Spain and a profligate attack upon the Filipinos.

Having issued this unlawful proclamation and so declared war on the Philippine Islanders, we forfeited all further claims over them excepting such as we might win by force if our challenge to war were taken up. After that proclamation the ratification of the treaty was a dead letter, for by our unlawful action all possibility of obtaining the Philippines legally or morally was lost. The question was now between us and them and was one of force. Of course if they chose to accept the position of a people conquered by us without being

conquered, that was their business; but legally and morally they ought not to have accepted that humiliation, and they did not do so. The president's impudent aggression also deserved anything but success.

To recapitulate: as we now stand we have no rights in the Philippines and can obtain none except by brute force. We ruled ourselves out by McKinley's act of usurpation. Spain would have been justified in resenting that act had she been able, and Spain being unable the natives were justified. Until the acceptance of the treaty by both nations our policy in the Islands could be only provisional. If Spain finally approved the treaty she transferred to us such rights of sovereignty in the Philippines as she possessed.

4. Could Spain Sell Us Sovereignty?

The two questions that next arise are, How much sovereignty did Spain possess to cede? and, Whether, even if she had any actual sovereignty, her cession of it to us gave us any true or moral rights over the Islands.

According to the theory of national rights established by our revolution against England, Spain had no sovereignty in the Philippine Islands. Her yoke was arbitrarily imposed and maintained against their will. When there was a gleam of hope of success they resisted. There was certainly no moral sovereignty in this—it was merely the sovereignty of an overpowering brutality.

But now for the legal sovereignty. Spain was unable to conquer Cuba, *before* the war with us had destroyed her fleets and crippled all her resources. *After* that disaster is there any cause to believe that Spain could have quelled the insurgent Filipinos? None whatever. The Filipinos had seized the opportunity of our Spanish war to strike another blow for freedom. After the war the weakened Spaniards could no more have conquered them than they previously could conquer Cuba. Hence Spain had no lawful sovereignty in the Philippines. We may grant her the same supremacy there that she had in Cuba when we

took up Cuba's cause, and we then denied that she had any rightful supremacy there. We began war to compel her to take her unrighteous hands away from that property to which she had lost all right. For the same reasons Spain had no sovereignty over the Philippines to sell or give away, wherefore we could buy none of her.

We, then, have entered into the same relation to the Philippines that Spain stood in to Cuba—the relation that caused us to declare a war of liberation. Who will declare war against us to liberate the Philippines? What great philanthropic Power, in response to the claims of humanity, will rise to this great moral crisis and command us to evacuate the territory that we are subduing to our new greed? Either our war for Cuba was unjust, or, on the principles which we invoked to justify it, we ought to be driven out of the Philippines. If we continue our present Spanish policy there we condemn our war against Spain as groundless and iniquitous.

We have the answer to our first question. Spain had no sovereignty in the Asiatic Group to cede. She could grant a parchment claim—she could also have given away as much of Cuba as that any time these years back.

As to whether we could acquire a moral right to this territory by Spanish cession, our historical actions settled that question beyond peradventure long ago. When we declared our independence of England we announced the principle that a people who were dissatisfied with the rule of a nation claiming them as a colony might declare that rule null and void and ended, and that if they so declared, it was at an end. This principle declares that a nation cannot extend its authority over a people that declines its authority. We may now find it convenient to repudiate these doctrines—we are repudiating them—but we cannot do it without in the same act overthrowing the foundations of our own national life, of our history, and of our freedom.

We may be perfectly confident that whatever we now

do to these helpless Islands is making new precedent for ourselves, and that if we pull down the bulwarks of justice and freedom by which we have thus far protected our own liberties, those liberties at home will next fall, and domestic tyranny will take the place of the independence established by the blood and courage and magnanimity of our forefathers. The time has come to choose, and we must do so with clear knowledge that the fate of all we have loved most in America is in our choice. As we choose for the Filipinos we choose for ourselves. If we disregard their rights and liberties such is the stern retribution of nature's laws that it is upon our own necks we shall be placing the servile yoke.

5. Our Great Debt to the Filipinos.

There is no doubt of the direction we have taken thus far. Our course toward the Filipinos has been one of the utmost perfidy. We had faithfully announced to the whole world that we harbored no designs of conquest or aggrandizement in going to war with Spain. The Filipinos took us at our word and welcomed us as deliverers. By our own declaration—addressed nominally to Cuba but universal in its terms and promises—we were pledged to the Filipinos not to violently subjugate them to ourselves. *It was on this pledge that they received us.* If they had believed our promise to be a lie, as it turned out to be, what would their course have been! It is most certain that they would *not* have co-operated with us. They had no knowledge whatever of us—most of them had never heard that we exist—and they could have had no reason to think that our tyranny would be preferable to Spain's. They were seeking freedom, freedom from all alien rule. When they learned anything about us they must have learned that we were a stronger nation than Spain and they might have very rationally decided to help the Spaniards against us, on the ground that it would be easier for them to drive the Spaniards out later than to drive a more powerful people out if it gained a footing. If they had done this our 'brilliant'

career in the Far East would have been sadly tarnished. Could we have crushed Spain there if the Islanders had opposed us? It would have taken much of our time and blood and money, and the end is doubtful. For if the prospects had been brighter in the Philippines, Spain would have held out a little longer in Cuba, and in a few more days our Cuban army would have been helpless from disease and must have suffered a terrible punishment. Spain would have annihilated our land forces. To say that the Filipinos saved us from this humiliation is not a wild statement. Since they are fighting against us now for freedom there is no reason to suppose that if they had known our real designs they would have fought for us then to help us make them our subjects.

If they had not joined the Spaniards to keep us out, there were two other courses open: either to fight both the Spaniards and us, or to help us to defeat the Spanish and then to turn upon us. The result in either case would have been disastrous to our arms and prestige. The whole world would have looked upon our Spanish war differently if we had been driven to fight the natives before the war closed. The one justification of the war having been knocked from under, the restraints upon continental sympathy and interference would have fallen off and Spain would undoubtedly have found active supporters. There was Germany aching for a plausible excuse to order us out of that region. This would have been a stunningly plausible excuse—that on the pretense of liberating the Filipinos from Spain we were killing them (which we have since done). It would have been universally believed that since we were lying with regard to the Philippines, we were also lying with regard to Cuba. What support could we have then found anywhere? England was able to give us moral support on the ground that we were waging an unselfish fight for humanity, but if this ground had been withdrawn, that support must not only have been much weaker but Continental Powers would have combined to disregard it and save Spain from humiliation. What then? We must have backed

down or been the cause of a world war. England might or might not have helped then. If she had done so the war must have been infinitely more terrible and to no purpose but to gratify our desire to steal, and to establish the right of the Anglo-Saxon race to steal everywhere. If she had declined to back our hypocrisy with warships we should have received an exceeding great thrashing and would have exceedingly more than deserved it.

To return to our destinies in the Philippines. With the Filipinos hostile, or ready to attack us after the routing of the Spanish, our conquest of the islands would not have been the easy task that it was. The Filipino leaders have not shown themselves lacking in intelligence. Had they taken an attitude of enmity to both combatants, the land battle at Manila would probably have been a draw, and both sides been considerably weakened. Assuming, as we have seen that we justly may, that the hostility of the natives to us would have deferred (perhaps indefinitely) the surrender of Santiago, the war would have continued in the Philippines. We should have been forced to send thousands more troops to carry on a recognized and admitted war of conquest, in defiance of the moral judgment of mankind, and under difficulties rendered distressing by the native opposition. Would the war have been ended yet had this transpired? It is unlikely.

Moreover, if the real intentions of our political masters had been known earlier the support of the great majority of the American people would have been withdrawn from the war. Americans would not at that time have endured the thought of subduing the native Filipinos to our benevolent sway by force. This would have so embarrassed the Administration and Congress as to oblige them to abandon the conquest of the Philippines or to declare as a finality that they should be free and independent after the eviction of Spain.

6. Superlative Treachery.

What is the whole truth? That we owe the greatest gratitude to these heroic Islanders, that we have

shamelessly denied that debt. Their faith in us and aid contributed much to the success and speedy close of the war—we gained that faith and aid by deception. No sooner was the war done and their usefulness to us over than we came out in our true colors and announced our sovereignty, an act that, committed earlier, would have prevented alliance and made them our deadly foes. We have shown by this deed that honor does not exist in us. It is one of those pieces of inconceivable infamy which have sullied the records of monarchies and which we abominated for a hundred proud years. We can only wipe this stain out by restoring the usurped sovereignty of these territories to the people who dwell in them.

Follow in further detail the course of American hypocrisy toward this unhappy people. Our Imperial and monarchical press may find that it serves the cause of prejudice to defame Aguinaldo, but their tirades lose force when we recall the opinions of the British press of our own "Mr." Washington a century and a quarter ago. Moreover, considering the lie that we have perpetrated upon the Filipinos, and sustained with our Imperialist press, there is better ground to believe him than his traducers. And here are declarations by him after general Otis had transmitted McKinley's proclamation of sovereignty to the Archipelago:

"General Otis calls himself in the proclamation referred to 'military governor of the Philippine Islands,' and I protest once and a thousand times, and with all the energy of my soul, against such authority. I solemnly proclaim that I have never had, neither in Singapore or in Hongkong, nor here in the Philippines, any understanding or agreement, neither by word nor by writing, to recognize the sovereignty of America in this, my loved country. On the contrary, I say that I returned to these islands on board an American warship on the 19th of May of last year with the decided and manifest proposition to carry on the war with the Spaniards, to reconquer our liberty and our independence. . . .

"I solemnly protest in the name of God, the root and fountain of all justice and of all right, and who has given me the power to direct my dear brothers in the difficult work of our regeneration, against this intrusion of the Government of the United States in the sovereignty of these islands. Equally I

protest in the name of all the Filipino people against this intrusion because when they gave me their vote of confidence, electing me, though unworthy, as president of the nation, when they did this they imposed on me the duty to sustain to the death their liberty and independence.

"Lastly, I protest against this act, so little expected, of the sovereignty of America in these islands, in the name of all that has passed, of which I have proofs in my possession, referring to my relations with the American authorities, which prove in the most unequivocal manner that the United States did not bring me from Hongkong to make war against the Spaniards to benefit the Americans, but to help us to gain our liberty and independence, for the attainment of which object the American authorities promised me verbally their decided and efficacious co-operation."

Fraud is here openly charged by the responsible leader of the Philippine people upon the American authorities, and why shall we not believe him? The American authorities were then sailing briskly before the full gust of Philanthropy. Everything they did was from humanity to the down-trodden—they said. Our deep and mighty ruler had not yet taken the people into confidence regarding his plans of forcible occupation or affectionate annihilation, so that nothing restrained him from playing a confidence game on the believing Aguinaldo to gain his support. True, if the president and his friends did this they were unconscionable liars, and the nation ought to hasten to set itself right by denouncing the lie and keeping the promise made or implied. But they are likewise unconscionable liars if they made the promise at the time in good faith and have since concluded "for reasons of State" to break it. Among great Powers this kind of change of mind or lying would be sufficient cause for a destructive war, and our criminal responsibility for the change is not diminished by the fact that the Philippines are not a great Power. As no cause is apparent why at that time the pledges should not have been made, we must believe that they were made; the more so as the natives have since proved themselves willing to lay down their lives for that promised independence. This is the strongest proof that they would not have aided us without satisfying assurances that the prize was to be their own freedom.

The Filipino junta at Hongkong has made the following incriminating statement:

"Information which has leaked through the Pinkertons sent here by President McKinley to investigate the shipments of arms to the Filipinos shows that the first shipment of arms to Aguinaldo was made by order of the American Government through Consul Wildman, hence the shipment per the Wing Foi. The American Government subsequently telegraphed to cease this, coincident with the change of policy to annexation. Mr. Wildman and Rear Admiral Dewey promised to pay, but have not yet paid, for a subsequent expedition by the Abbey, authorized by Admiral Dewey, who afterward seized the steamer, and she is still held. Papers respecting this are now in possession of the Secretary of the Navy. The protestations of Admiral Dewey and other Americans that they have made no promises are ridiculous. In view of these facts, let the American people judge how the nation's word of honor was pledged to the Filipinos and confided in by them and violated by the recent treachery of General Otis."

Consider this fairly. Our policy did change at a certain time. At some point McKinley made up his mind to aim at the retention of the Islands. Before that there was no reason why we should not treat the Filipinos with confidence and supply them with arms to assist us. We probably did so. But after the change of heart there was every reason why we should not give them arms which they were likely to use later against us.

We can get our minds to comprehend the stultification of our Government by putting Ireland in the place of the Asiatic archipelago. Fancy us engaged in a war for humanity's sake to rescue the Soudan from further bloody British assizes. We have issued the sacred manifesto to the world "that the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control," and our revered Chief Magistrate has solemnly declared that forcible annexation is not to be thought of because it would be criminal aggression. Relying on these ought-to-be inviolable pledges, Ireland has risen to arms to strike for her own freedom, and has welcomed our forces to her soil to expel the English. We succeed, but instead of keeping faith with Ireland we demand the cession of her from England for a small price. We announce that

our promises of freedom applied only to the Soudan, and our president issues a proclamation of American military sovereignty over Ireland. We can easily imagine what would happen. The Irish in Ireland and the Irish-Americans would stir up such an uproar against the astounding swindle, that we should be glad to get out of Ireland on any terms, if need be paying a price for our aggression and lie. And the whole of Europe would justly and if need be forcibly sustain Ireland's demands. Remote barbarians are in a different posture, and we can boldly bully them with impunity. They have no powerful friends and we have nothing to fear. But the deed is as rascally and abominable as if we were to deal Ireland a similar treachery in like circumstances.

7. The American Lie of Love.

To those who believe that American honor is still worth preserving, the language of the main author (or nerveless tool, perhaps) of this perfidy, William McKinley, is animating reading. He dilated upon the benevolence of the United States in his proclamation of sovereignty or war, informing the natives how good it would be for some of them to be killed if they could not realize the blessing of becoming our property. Tenderly eloquent words are the following, illumined by the benevolent murder of thousands, which followed them:

"Finally, it should be the earnest and paramount aim of the military administration to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines, by assuring to them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation, substituting the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule.

"In the fulfillment of this high mission, supporting the temperate administration of affairs for the greatest good of the governed, there must be sedulously maintained the strong arm of authority, to repress disturbance, and to overcome all obstacles to the bestowal of the blessings of good and stable government upon the people of the Philippine Islands under the free flag of the United States."

The terms in which general Otis transmitted the president's ultimatum will also raise the pride of freedom-preaching Americans. He says:

"In the war against Spain the United States forces came here to destroy the power of that nation and to give the blessings of peace and individual freedom to the Philippine people; that we are here as friends of the Filipinos to protect them in their homes, their employments, their individual and religious liberty; that all persons who, either by active aid or honest endeavor, co operate with the Government of the United States to give effect to the beneficent purposes, will receive the reward of its support and protection. . . .

"I am fully of the opinion that it is the intention of the United States Government, while directing affairs generally, to appoint the representative men now forming the controlling element of the Filipinos, to civil positions of trust and responsibility, and it will be my aim to appoint thereto such Filipinos as may be acceptable to the supreme authorities at Washington.

"It is also my belief that it is the intention of the United States Government to draw from the Filipino people so much of the military force of the islands as is possible, and consistent with a free and well constituted government of the country and it is my purpose to inaugurate a policy of that character."

The 'representative men of the Filipinos' were to be bribed into acceptance of American authority by the promise of tempting offices under the United States. Poor, mean payment this to a people for resigning its independence, and a contemptible method of gaining possession of that independence. Another application of the noble 'spoils of office' system which our rulers have for deluding and tyrannizing over their own countrymen. And how conciliatory and inviting that assurance of our Otis that the Philippine people would some of them be graciously permitted to serve in the ranks of the military to keep their country in subjection to the United States! This must have been a flash of Otis's own private humor to help his staggering president out of a ditch, for what does the mighty Secretary of War soon after say on this subject? He speaks thus:*

"The natives of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines do not understand our purposes and ways of government sufficiently to admit of their being made part of our military establishment

*Contained in a statement from the War Department on the needed army legislation, issued Feb. 19, 1899.

to the extent of organizing them into companies, battalions and regiments at once. Our officers of greatest experience with them are of this opinion. In time this could doubtless be done, but it will require education. By degrees, a company could be given to a regiment to be utilized as scouts and guides; further on, a battalion could be added, and in time things working well, regiments could be organized, but it will take time, so much time, that for the uses of the immediate present and some time in the future, they could not be wisely counted as affording any considerable strength to the service, however many might be provided for by a Congressional act. They are a possible, even probable factor, of the future, but not for the present."

What is to be done to reconcile this with general Otis's volatile assurances? Here there is no chance for mistake or double interpretation. The American government promises something it has no intention of performing for a very long time, if ever, in order to get firm military grasp on the Filipinos. The deception stands in black and white. Otis says, 'It is my purpose to inaugurate a policy drawing from the Filipino people so much of the military force of the islands as is possible.' The War Department at Washington says, 'For use as native soldiers the Filipinos are *a possible, even a probable factor, of the future, but not for the present.*' We defy the European Powers to produce a more barefaced instance of fraud in their own dealings with savages than this masterpiece.

It is not unfair to take the president as the leader of the Imperialist phrenzy, and in his utterances to estimate the sense and unselfishness of all. We find him in his Boston banquet speech repeating the bathos which is the stock in trade of the British expansionists. His language is their language, and we hear him babbling the phrases of Chamberlain, Salisbury, Rosebery, Curzon and the rest. He speaks of our flag in the Philippines, "where it now floats, the symbol and assurance of liberty and justice." It floats over the graves of many dead Filipinos who died from accepting our assurances of liberty and justice.

The immortal lie that we have not sought to confiscate the Philippine archipelago is reiterated—"It was a trust we have not sought;" God thrust it upon us,

he says. God was the cause of our treachery to the trusting natives, God compelled us to shoot them down when our dastardly intentions were discovered, God forces us against our virtuous wish to plant ourselves in the Orient in order to bring our mailed fist within arm's length of China to smash holes in her if necessary for our sacred trade. McKinley says: "Our concern was not for territory or trade or empire, but for people, whose interests and destiny, without our willing, had been put in our hands." "No imperial designs lurk in the American mind. They are alien to American sentiments, thought and purpose. Our priceless principles undergo no change under a tropical sun. . . . They go with the fiat: 'Why read ye not the changeless truth, the free can conquer but to save.'"

It is not pleasant, but the question must be asked: Does this man think that he is talking to a nation of fools? If his words are not mere re-election vapor, he is the only man in the United States who is ignorant that what is thrusting us into the Orient is not God but Greed—greed for trade. Unless his mind has been unsettled by greatness the pious McKinley knows as every other American knows that if our priceless principles had not undergone a change since we started on our errand of mercy to Cuba, to stop the Spaniards from shooting Cubans, we should not be shooting Filipinos now because they wanted the same mercy at our hands that we promised to Cuba. If we must be villains let us not sneak and deny it and publish a guinea pig prospectus that we have taken God into partnership. There is only one defense for McKinley, if he is not a deceiver: he is dying of majesty. This was the fate of president Faure. A French statesman and physician, noting the signs of premature decay, said: "If M. Faure is not soon turned out of the Presidency he will die from general paralysis, the effect of 'folie de grandeur.' " M. Faure was so great that no one could speak to him first. For charity's sake let us believe that McKinley is so great that he can see nothing as it is but only as his magnificence of mind shapes it.

More reading of his speech will not change our opinion:

"We could not discharge the responsibilities upon us until these islands became ours either by conquest or treaty. There was but one alternative, and that was either Spain or the United States in the Philippines. The other suggestion showed, first, that they should be tossed into the arena for the strife of nations; or, second, be lost to the anarchy and chaos of no protectorate at all, and were too shameful to be considered."

This is in defence of our policy of making ourselves masters of the Philippines and of exterminating the portion of their inhabitants who will not consent. But the truth is quite different.

8. Fooling All the People.

It is one of the recent novelties of free government to be obliged to defend the right of the governed to be consulted. Mr. McKinley has enunciated and acted upon the doctrine that we may govern a people against their will according to our own ideas of their good. The application of this tyrannical principle was the cause of our disgraceful war to prevent the independence of the Filipinos. The McKinley statement of this doctrine is the most remarkable and revolting expression of political bombast of the century, assuming that its author is not insane. It is this:

"Did we need their consent to perform a great act of humanity? We had it in every aspiration of their minds, in every hope of their hearts. Was it necessary to ask their consent to capture Manila, the capital of their islands? Did we ask their consent to liberate them from Spanish sovereignty or to enter Manila Bay and destroy the Spanish sea power there? We did not ask these; we were obeying a higher moral obligation, which rested on us, and which did not require anybody's consent. We were doing our duty by them, as God gave us the light to see our duty, with the consent of our own consciences, and with the approval of civilization. Every present obligation has been met and fulfilled in the expulsion of Spanish sovereignty from their islands, and while the war that destroyed it was in progress we could not ask their views. Nor can we now ask their consent."

Pardon must be asked for comment on fallacies so bare as these. Our forcing Spain to take herself out of the Philippines was the "great act of humanity" alluded to. To have this done was the mighty 'aspi-

ration and hope of their hearts,' and it was this aspiration and hope that gave consent to what we did, the capture of Manila, et cetera. McKinley justifies our course by the fact that we had this tacit consent. But then, by his own words, that consent extended no farther than the expulsion of Spain. That consent explicitly contradicted and forbade our taking Spain's place as sovereign. Even the consent to force Spain out did not exist if our entrance into her shoes was to be coupled with it. This is so undeniable that for McKinley to invoke God's sanction on our 'great act' after we have gone forward and stultified that act by taking the very place that Spain held, is raving blasphemy. "We were obeying a higher moral obligation"—was there anything higher or moral in our ousting Spain to seize her post of sovereignty? Neither our consciences nor civilization ever approved this.

Mr. McKinley knows well enough the logical thimble-rigging in which he is engaged, always supposing that his mind has not failed. He seeks to make a fact which justifies one course justify a course that is the antithesis and overthrow of the first. The Filipinos wanted freedom: that justified us in driving their master out; they wanted freedom; that justified us in becoming their master ourselves. Listen reverently to the mind which can evolve such marvels. It says: 'Every present obligation has been met and fulfilled in the expulsion of Spanish sovereignty from the islands.' This was true provided we ourselves had then claimed no sovereignty there, otherwise it was absolutely false. In fact McKinley had already, before making this extravagant speech, declared his sovereignty and a war had issued from it. We had broken our obligation to the islands by replacing one sovereignty with another, and by not withdrawing or expelling our own sovereignty.

The most wonderful logical break of this demented man remains to be told. 'While the war that destroyed Spanish sovereignty was in progress we could not ask the Filipinos' views,' he says. Very well, grant this. "Nor can we ask it now," he goes on.

"Indeed, can any one tell me in what form it could be marshaled and ascertained until after peace and order, so necessary to the reign of reason, shall be secured and established? A reign of terror is not the kind of rule under which right action and deliberate judgment are possible. It is not a good time for the liberator to submit important questions concerning liberty and government to the liberated while they are engaged in shooting down their rescuers."

By this, McKinley the Magnificent informs us that immediately after the Spanish war ceased the Filipino war began, that there was no time or space between them for asking the views of the Filipinos on what they would like to have us do. O McKinley, do you think that we are all besotted with grandeur like yourself? Do you think that we have forgotten that there was a long period between those wars during which you might have 'marshaled and ascertained' the views of the islanders, and that you elected to cut the knot and settle the whole matter according to your own views, by proclaiming yourself their sovereign? After your carnival of murder is ended how else will you learn their views than by doing as you might and should have done prior to your proclamation? You did not wish to give them a chance to express their preferences, lest they might oppose your ambitions for empire, and that is the secret of your not inquiring. That is the secret of your insolent manifesto calling on them to obey you. And now, like a coward, you would run away to evade even the memory of this interval and what happened in it, pretending that the 'misguided Filipinos,' as you arrogantly call them, began to 'shoot their rescuers down' as soon as Spain surrendered, and gave you no time to discover their will. But no one will be deceived, for all know that after your mind, under the dictation of corporation kings, was resolved to hold the Philippines as yours, there was no intention on your part of consulting them in good faith. Some farce of consultation may have gone through your mind for a later day—with their representative citizens, the whites and big property owners, in order to have them perform the mock-ceremony of voting authority for acts already done.

And you Mr. McKinley, who out of a state of confidence and repose had brought a reign of terror and destruction in those islands, equalling and surpassing the terror and destruction under Spain, could say to the American people, "It is not a good time for the liberator to submit important questions concerning liberty and government to the liberated while they are engaged in shooting down their rescuers."! Who was shooting the rescued down? What did the 'liberators' deserve for turning into masters and coercers but to be shot down? You, McKinley, having by voluntary unlawful act made the blood of two races flow, arouse unbounded compassion for your suffering when in stately melancholy you close your comfortable Boston feast by allusion to the blood-stained trenches around Manila, where 'every red drop, whether from the veins of an American soldier or a misguided Filipino, is anguish to my heart.'

The effusive sophistries of the national executive, whether the result of aberration or dishonesty, have a public effect. They impose on many, for raw and brutal though they are, the people have allowed this executive to continue his course. It can only follow that the people are themselves either dull or devoid of conscience. Is a people that follows such lead, accepts as guileless truth a shower of feathery fairy tales, takes a man seriously who says twice two are five, because he has political authority, is such a people any better in mind or character than its deceiver? The American people have changed since the ring of Expansion was put in their nose. The presence of this ring is public advertisement that the Anglo-Saxon race has already lost independence. To a people of independence and nerve a president could not have poured out a speech of bilge-water. The most hopeless sign for America is that that speech was not repudiated instantly by the whole continent.

9. The Honorable Solution of the Problem.

What ought we to have done, and what ought we to do? We ought to have signified unequivocally to the

Filipinos that we had no intention of becoming their sovereign in any form. As soon as Spain surrendered we should have made this irrevocable disclaimer. It cannot be said that this would have been impossible or impolitic, for the American Peace Commissioners had instructions from the Administration to require the cession of the island of Luzon. "The instructions of the President when we started out were to take Luzon," admitted Mr. Frye, one of the peace commissioners, when cross-examined in the Senate by Mr. Vest. This developed into a demand for the whole Philippine group. Then was the time to have pledged ourselves to make the entire archipelago free. Congress ought to have taken this stand and compelled the shilly-shallying president to make it. Congress ought to have pledged itself and the country before the departure of the peace commission that all territory obtained from Spain by cession should be made free and independent.

It was also politic. We have labored from the first under the suspicion that the disinterestedness of our demands from Spain did not ring true. We could have removed the suspicion by Congressional declaration that we should hold none of the territory as ours, and much friction would have been saved. We were prevented from this honorable course by the conspiracy of the president to keep everything he could get, and by the pitiful servility of Congress to the president's orders. The president listened to corporate commands, transmitted them to congress, and congress obeyed.

If congress had pledged that all acquired territory should be free, our dastardly war to enslave the Philippines would have been averted. McKinley, being properly muzzled by congressional act, could not have issued his aggrandizing proclamation of peaceable sovereignty or forcible conquest. Our course would have been plain from the beginning: we should have aided the Cubans, Porto Ricans, and Filipinos to set up independent governments of their own and should have been spared the fatal complications which the aggression of the president has loaded upon us. The ques-

tions of Imperialism, Expansion and Militarism would not have been raised at all.

What should our relation to the independent nations have been after we had established them? If we could have trusted ourselves not to be seized with the grabbing epilepsy, a simple guardianship to extend no farther than keeping other Powers off and assisting the native governments to police themselves as they learned self-governing forms, would have answered. This was one course. It was ruled out because we very early showed that we could not trust ourselves in the presence of property without itching to steal it, and that whatever we assumed to protect in the mask of philanthropy would soon be transformed into our private property by circumvention or force.

But another, far wiser, course was open—one which preserved us from the evils of Imperialism and secured to those concerned a higher good than our single guardianship. We should have formed, and should now form, with Great Britain, Switzerland and perhaps Germany, a Joint Protectorate over the Philippines, upon a plan binding all to the two simple principles of protecting the islands from predatory powers, and assisting the free government constituted by the inhabitants to preserve internal order.

I name Switzerland because she represents advanced ideas of freedom, justice and democracy. Having no temptation to avaricious aggrandizement she would bring into the counsels of the protectorate elevated principles and impartial judgments.

There are decisive advantages in this method. A single nation might veer over to selfishness—it nearly always does—but several nations will act as checks on one another and adhere to the purpose of advancing the interests of their charge.

No private motives could be suspected and the joint protectorate would enjoy the full confidence of the natives; its suggestions would be honored and the progress of the people be as rapid as it is in them to make.

If there is any foundation for the belief of some that

a reign of anarchy would follow if the natives were left alone, the misfortune would be prevented by the combined powers. If the Filipinos knew that internal wars would not be allowed they would have little inclination to attempt them and would learn to govern themselves without the sword. The single nation makes the internal disturbances of a dependency the signal for taking more authority to itself, where a real protector would stand in the firm and friendly relation of arbitrator, striving to make the combatants feel the consequences of their folly, without robbing the nation of liberty.

The system would be an experiment before the world in the best methods of advancing backward races. All the trials made by single nations are of small importance because the commercial interests of the governing people shoulder every other aim out. But the results obtained by an honest experiment would be so convincing that their adoption in all colonies would follow.

The United States would be saved from Imperialism. No increase either of army or navy would be required, the forces of the combined powers being equal to any emergency. But the existence of the combination would prevent an emergency from arising.

We should indicate to the world our continued and strengthened adherence to the principles of peace, our disgust at the orgies of selfishness of European Powers in their colonial affairs, which threaten to set the whole world in a blaze of war.

We should clear our skirts of deception. Duty is being made to carry the burden of rascally selfishness, and the way out of the dilemma for the nation is a plan extricating duty from selfishness. Accepting as true that the people mainly want to follow duty and that the commercial promoters are, by sharp practice, making them think that duty cannot be performed without expansion and imperialism, the one necessary thing is to drive these tricksters out of their cover and unmask them. A policy that meets in full all the philanthropic demands that they can urge, and yet without imperialism, one that does all the good that can be done for the

Filipinos and yet without expansion, leaves their deceptive selfishness without a veil: and joint protection is such a policy. Having this to advocate we know that any who oppose it, still demanding annexation or sole American guardianship, have a private axe to grind. We then have to face the proposition of commercial greed, without religion or morality to hide its sins, and the great mass of upright Americans will give it the doom it deserves.

It will cease then to be incumbent upon any one, in reality or imagination, to support a measure that contains the seeds of national destruction. From no side could suspicion of dishonor or failure to realize the highest conception of duty be brought against the United States, and the principles and institutions of this country would remain firmly anchored to the rock of freedom.

What now remains of the favorite defences of the wrong we have been doing? Absolutely nothing. It is said by those who have put us into the hole that we had no honorable way but to go into the hole, by taking the Philippines. They summon as the proof that every other course was 'not to be thought of,' and they enumerate the following possible courses: To turn the islands back to Spain; To give them to some other power or powers; or, To leave them to themselves, a prey to domestic anarchy and seizure by the predatory nations of Europe. Since we had to keep them, they say, we had to conquer them, and that made conquering them honorable. But since there was another honorable course we did not have to keep them, and therefore we did not have to conquer them, and the proof that it was honorable to conquer them is destroyed.

But the disingenuousness of our imperialist government will not bear scrutiny, even supposing that a joint protectorate had been impossible; for a formal protectorate by us which gave the islands independent government and freedom, warning other Powers off and lending our aid to keep the internal peace and help the internal development of a nation recognized by us as free, would have borne no resemblance to the pro-

tectorate of possession which presidential majesty with the whipped consent of congress is going on to establish. This kind of protection is carefully ignored by imperialists, as if it were unimaginable. Their studied silence exposes the indecency of our position. They want a protectorate that contains sovereignty and to extenuate the usurpation and shame of it they call it a state of *quasi* sovereignty.

It is an awkward position to be in, that of slaying men to make them love us. What ought a great nation to do in such circumstances? Go on slaying to prove that we cannot be made to back down even when we are wrong? That is about where our Filipino war puts us. The theory of International Force is that when a nation has begun a disgraceful row without color of cause, it must keep on and whip its unoffending adversary or lose caste and respect. This is the creed of the district bully. What does he know or care about justice? Let us take another case. A school master begins to thrash a pupil, and in the midst of it discovers that the boy is not guilty. If he is a brute and a fool he goes on with the whipping, saying that if he should stop before the job was done the boy wouldn't respect or love him. We are performing exactly that tomfoolery in the Philippines. Our rulers think that they need a thrashing on general principles to make them understand that we're boss. It is all false and ridiculous.

Being in the midst of a bad war which our chiefs undertook for conquest and personal ambition, the right and honorable way is to bring the business to a sudden end by acknowledging that we are wrong, indemnifying the Filipinos for the evil we have done them, and giving them self-government and freedom. And there is no other honorable course. We can afford to do it because we are strong. To say that it would be cowardly is preposterous. What we are doing is the cowardly thing: to think of such foulness as we are transacting to those poor harmless savages makes a true American bitterly ashamed of his country! It is meanness incarnate. We can never hold up our heads as

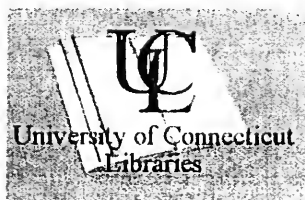
we have done. The vile spot will not wash out, it is there indelibly, a red cruel stain of damnable infamy. Every day that the war goes on deepens our crime and shame. Talk of cowardice! A man who caught an innocent boy and skinned him would be no worse than we are in this sublimely wanton ruffianism. The people ought to rise in retributive indignation and compel the puppets at Washington to stop this thing. There is no hope unless they do, the craven congress has adjourned, and unless the people thunder their rage and shame, and surge over the Administration poltroonery with an inflexible will that this brutality shall cease, it will drag on to lower and lower depths of moral damnation.

Better America ought to be heard now. The politicians have had their fling, selfishness has steered the nation, they have guided us into the crater of a volcano. Now let the voice of American citizens speak. Now let those who believe that we have a higher destiny than to rob and steal and kill in the name of God and Love, come forward and take the helm out of the hands of these wreckers of American traditions, American honor, American justice, and American liberty. Down with the leaders that have betrayed! It is the great soul of the American people alone that can save us.

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